



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

THE *E*-SOUNDS IN THE LANGUAGE OF HANS SACHS

The MHG. language possessed, as is well known, five *e*-vowels: the old short *ĕ*, the old long *ê*, the old umlaut *ē*, and the later umlaut-sounds, short *ä* and long *æ*. It is also well known that the distribution of these sounds varied in the different dialects; moreover, that their "historical" distribution in any given dialect was greatly altered by analogic processes and later phonetic laws. The actual facts about the *e*-sounds (as opposed to the ideal, "historical" distribution) are obscured for us by the insufficiency of the Latin alphabet and by the inaccuracy and inconsistency of the scribes. This obscurity has caused much error, such as the misstatements in Weinhold, *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik*², § 41, and Michels, *Mittelhochdeutsches Elementarbuch*, p. 27, third paragraph, or in Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Taschenwörterbuch*⁶, which does not distinguish between *ē* and *ä*, and also writes, e.g., *vegen*, *rechenen* for *vēgen*, *rēchenen*. These mistakes have been pointed out and many of the facts for the MHG. period ascertained by Zwierzina, *ZfdA.*, XLIV, 249 ff., who examines the rhymes of the MHG. poets.¹

This paper is concerned with the development of the five *e*-sounds after the MHG. period. We shall try to ascertain the exact facts for the sixteenth-century Nürnberg speech of Hans Sachs by examining this poet's rhymes.²

¹ Such objections as those of C. A. Meyer, *ZfdPh.*, XXXV, 47 ff., 204 ff., to the use of rhymes as a means of determining an author's pronunciation are met by the fact that, however unsatisfactory, rhymes are sometimes the only means we have. That their unreliability, moreover, is not so great as Meyer supposes is apparent from the brilliant results of Zwierzina. Study of a poet's rhymes usually enables us to sift out the merely traditional ones. A poet, moreover, even if but unconsciously, prefers the rhymes natural to his speech.

It is hardly necessary to refer, on the general subject of the HG. *e*-sounds, to such sources as Luick, *PBB.*, XI, 492 ff.; XIII, 588 ff., XIV, 127 ff.; Kauffmann, *PBB.*, XIII, 393 f.; Heilborn, *PBB.*, XIII, 567 ff.; Braune, *PBB.*, XIII, 573 ff.; Nagl, *PBB.*, XVIII, 262 ff.

² I have collected complete data for Sachs's *Fastnachtspiele* published in the *Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* by E. Goetze. Whenever it seems of possible value I quote play and couplet (by second line) for the occurrence of a rhyme-word; otherwise I give only the number of occurrences of each type of rhyme. As we are not concerned with the spelling, I make no attempt at reproducing all the variations used by Sachs and his printers; nor do I mention all the compounds in which a word occurs or all its inflectional values. Thus when I write *zelt* ('*zählt*') I include '*zählt*' 3s. and 2p., '*zählte*,' '*gezählt*,' '*erzählt*,' etc.

1. *ë* and *e*.—Sachs does not as a rule rhyme the old *ë* with the (closed) old umlaut *e*. In this he agrees with the Frankish writers of the MHG. period as opposed to the Bavarian (who rhyme the two vowels before *b*, *d*, *g*, *t*, where, it seems, they both approximate the sound of *e*; cf. Zwierzina, *loc. cit.*).

Thus Sachs keeps apart the following sets of rhyme-words: on the one hand, with *ë*, the rhymes of *entber* ('entbehre'): *ber* ('Bär'): *der*: *er*: *beger* ('begehre'; 'Begehren'): *her* ('her'): *scher* ('schere, schneide'): *sper* ('Speer'): *gewer* ('gewähre'): *wer* ('werde'): *zwer* ('quer')—(49);¹ on the other hand, with *e*, the rhyme *ner* ('nähre'): *bscher* ('beschere')—(1). It is evident that the last two words would hardly have sought out each other, rare as they are, to the exclusion of the common words with *ë*, had these been available as rhymes. We must accordingly regard the one rhyme of this type with *ë*: *e*, *her* ('her'): *mer* ('Meer') 23.258, as impure.²

The words and inflectional forms in *-rn* show the same distinction. In *-ërn* we find *entbern*: *gebern* ('gebären'): *bern* ('Bären,' oblique cases and pl.): *begern* (infinitive and noun): *gern* ('gern,' adverb): *schern* ('scheren, schneiden'): *stern*: *tafern* ('Wirtshaus'): *wern* ('werden'): *wern* ('gewähren')—(69); in *-ern*, *bern* ('schlagen'): *kern* ('kehren, fegen'): *nern* ('nähren'): *beschern* ('bescheren, schenken'): *schwern* ('schwören'): *wern* ('wehren'): *zern*—(13). Opposed to all these there is only one rhyme of *ë*: *e*, *anwern* ('ohne werden, ausgeben'): *zern* 7.88.

Similarly Sachs keeps apart *blerr* ('doppeltes und falsches Sehen'): *ferr* ('fern'): *herr* ('Herr')—(16), as well as *fernn* ('fern'; 'Ferne'): *herren*: *werren* ('verwirren')—(14), all with *ë*, from *kerren* ('quälen'): *sperren*—(10), and *bern*: *kerren*—(1), with *e*.³ *kerren* and *sperren* could of course easily have given forms to rhyme with *blerr*, *ferr*, etc. had the vowel-qualities been alike.

The following are the *t*-inflections of the above and their rhyme words: with *ë*, *erd* ('Erde'): *fert* ('voriges Jahr'): *gert* ('begehrt');

¹ I.e., a type of rhyme occurring 49 times and thus occupying 98 of the 30,076 verses of the *Fastnachtspiele*.

² Sachs may have got it from some Alsatian poet, cf., e.g., Murner, *Schelmzunft* (ed. E. Matthias, *Neudrucke*), 18.24. Cf. F. Stirius *Die Sprache Thomas Murners*, 1. Teil, Lautlehre. Diss. Halle, 1891.

³ Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Taschenwörterbuch*, s.v., wrongly gives *blerre* (= *blerr*) as having *e*. For Sachs's usage cf. its rhymes, 32.162, 54.200, 204, 214, 232, 256, 262, 77.182.

'Begehr'): *herd: schwert: wert* ('währt, dauert'): *gewert* ('gewährt'): *werd* ('werde'): *wert* ('wert')—(occurring in 76 couplets and one triplerhyme); with *e*, *fert* ('Fährte'): *nert* ('nährt'): *beschert: zert*—(5), *hert* ('hart'): *kerrt* ('quält'): *sperrt*—(6), *fert* ('fährt'): *hert* ('hart')—(1).

Compare also, with *ë*: *gerst* ('begehrst'): *gewerst* ('gewährst')—(1), and, with *e*, *erferst: verzerst*.

berg ('Berg'): *Nürnberg: herberg: werck* ('Werk'): *überzweg* ('in die Quere')—(6), do not rhyme with *merck* ('merke'): *sterck* ('stärke')—(1), *merckt: sterckt*—(2), *mercken: stercken*—(1); the former words have of course *ë*, the latter *e*.

We see *ë* in *sterb: verderb* (intransitive)—(1), *kerben: scherben: sterben: verderben* (intransitive): *werben: gewerben* ('Gewerben')—(21); these words do not rhyme with the *e*-words *erben: verderben* (transitive)—(8), *erbt: verderbt* (transitive, weak verb)—(4). At 39.467 we read, rhyming with a line in *erben*.

Bheltst dus, so bhalts zu deinem verderben;

where *verderben* is used as a noun. Unless we can attribute transitive sense to this infinitive-noun, we must deduct one from the number of cases of "*erben: verderben* (transitive)" above and call this an impure rhyme.

In all the examples so far the *e*'s stand before *r*; they are similarly kept apart before other sounds, as follows:

Before *l*: with *ë*, *hell: marzell*—(1), *verheln* ('verhehlen'): *keln* ('Kehle, Kehlen'): *steln* ('stehlen')—(5), *bellén: capellen: pedellen: schellen* ('Schelle, Schellen'): *zellen* ('Zelle, Zellen')—(3), *feld: geld: meldt* ('meldet'): *welt* ('Welt'): *zelt* ('Zelt')—(40); and with *e*, *ungefell* ('Unfall'): *gsell* ('Gesell'): *hell* ('Hölle'): *quel* ('Qual'): *gschell* ('Lärm'): *stell* ('stelle'): *wel* ('wähle')—(16), *queln* ('quälen'): *weln* ('wählen'): *zeln* ('zählen'): *ellen* (pl.): *fellen* ('zum Fall bringen'): *gsellen: schnellen* (verb): *stellen* (verb)—(25), *fellt* ('fällt, cadit'): *gesellt* (participle): *helt* ('hält'): *held: stellt: welt* ('wählt'): *zelt* ('zählt')—(20).

To these rhymes in *e* a number of further cases are added by the fact that the verb *wellen* ('wollen') rhymes 19 times in its different forms (*well, wellen, wellt*) with words in *e* (*gsell, stell* ['stelle'], *gsellen, stellen* [verb], *gefellt* ['gefällt, placet'], *held, bestellt*). It never rhymes with *ë* words.

Before *k* and *g*: with *ë* we have *dreck*:*kudelfleck* ('Kaldaunen'): *geck*:*keck*:*schleck* ('Schlemmerei'): *speck*:*steck* ('stecke,' intransitive): *weck* ('weg,' adverb): *zeck* ('Schaflaus')—(16), *flecken* (pl. of *fleck*): *gecken*:*lecken* ('lecken, lambere'): *schrecken* (noun): *stecken* (intransitive): *stecken* (noun)—(5), *affect*:*steckt* (intransitive)—(3), *confect*: *geschleck* ('Genäsch')—(1);¹ Sachs keeps these words apart from the following with *e*, *beck* ('Bäcker'): *rotseck* ('Würste'): *streck* ('strecke'): *weck* ('Wecken, Brödchen')—(4), *schleg* ('Schläge'): *in die schreg* ('in die Quere')—(2),² *appodecken* ('Apotheke'): *decken* (verb): *disecken* ('Schneideinstrument'): *ecken* ('Ecke, Ecken'): *hecken*:*klecken* ('ge-reichen'): *lecken* ('springen, hüpfen'): *partecken* ('Parteken, Krusten'): *recken* ('Recken'): *schmecken* (verb): *schrecken* (verb): *auszsecken* ('auszanken'): *secken* ('Säcken'): *stecken* (transitive): *strecken* (verb): *wecken* (verb)—(46), *legt*:*schmeckt*:*schreckt*:*gesteckt* (participle of weak transitive verb): *streckt*:*tregt* ('trägt'): *weckt*—(13).³

Further we have *ë* in *fegen* ('fegen, kehren'): *fregen* ('fragen,' occurring beside *fragen*): *gelegen* (participle): *pflegen*:*regen* ('Regen'): *segen* ('segnen,' syncopated form): *segen* ('Segen'): *wegen* ('Wegen,' dat. pl.): *wegen* (preposition): *allwegen* ('immer'): *verwegen* ('wagen,' verb): *verwegen* (adjective)—(56); as opposed to *e* in *gegen*:*begegen* ('begeggen,' syncopated form): *legen*:*regen* (transitive and reflexive verb): *schlegen* ('Schlägen'): *bewegen*—(20). Of this type we have probably an impure rhyme of *ë*:*e* in 28.144, where we read:

Ausz den grausamen donner schlegen
Kamb hernach auff mich ein platzregen.

This rhyme could be considered pure only if we assumed for the word *schlag* a plural with *ä* on the model of later umlaut plurals such as *väter, wälder* (cf. von Bahder, *op. cit.*, p. 135). In that case the rhyme (included earlier in this paragraph) of *erregen* (transitive) with

¹ *dreck* is sometimes wrongly given with *e* (so Lexer, *op. cit.*, s.v.) For this and for *stecken*, with *ë*, as an intransitive (strong) verb cf. von Bahder, *Grundlagen des neuhoch-deutschen Lautsystems*, p. 134. The rhymes of *stëcken* (included in the above count) occur in the following passages of the *Fastnachtspiele*: 4.106, 13.46, 30.6, 44.64, 68.312, 74.166. The noun *stecken* is given by Lexer, *op. cit.*, s.v., with *e*; for Sachs's use of it with the open vowel *ë* cf. his rhymes (above included) at 28.142, 83.186.

² Here the vowel may perhaps be *ä* and not *e*; cf. below.

³ The verb *schrecken* has always *e*, even when intransitive (20.64), but the noun *schrecken* has *ë* (two occurrences, 63.252, 74.166). For *stecken* with *e*, the transitive (weak) verb (as opposed to *stëcken* above), cf., for instance, 31.56, 49.222, 75.189; the participle in 6.186, 21.108; compounds in 19.182; 34.18, 17.60, 22.192.

schlegen (dat. pl. of *schlag*) at 28.98 would be an example of the same word with *e* in the plural; *schleg:in die schreg* (listed in the preceding paragraph) might be judged either way, for *schreg* may possibly have *ä*. We must note, however, that *schlag* belongs to the old umlaut plural class and is consequently almost sure to have the plural with *e*.

Sachs separates also *egel* ('Blutegel'): *segel* and *egeln* (pl.): *segeln* (verb), with *ë*, which occur once each, from *flegel:schlegel* ('Schlägel') with *e*, occurring 3 times.

Before *ch*: *ë* is found in the common rhyme-words *fecht* ('fechte'): *knecht*: *Lamprecht*: *recht*: *schlecht*: *secht* ('sieht'): *specht* ('späht'): *spricht:zecht*—(84). We find *e* only in the two rhymes *becht* ('bäckt'): *geschwecht* ('geschwächt') and *hecht* ('Hecht'): *schlecht* ('schlägt') occurring once each; the fact that these rare rhyme-words seek each other instead of joining with the common ones that have *ë* shows the latter process to have been impossible.

Before *t*: *beten* ('beten'): *beten* ('gebeten,' participle): *treten*—(5) have *ë*; *beten* ('Betten'): *treten* ('plagen'): *keten* ('Ketten'): *meten* ('Frühmessen'): *trometen* ('Trompeten')—(5), *treten:retten*—(1) have *e*.

Before *s* (MHG. *s, z*): *fresst:vergesst*—(1) have *ë*. Note also the following, which might have given forms parallel to those of the *e*-words below: *fress* ('fresse'): *mess* ('Messe'): *process* ('Prozession'): *vergess*—(6), *besen:lesen:genesen:wesen* (noun): *gewesen* (participle): *verwesen* (verb)—(20), *essen:fressen:vergessen:kressen* ('Kresse,' oblique cases and pl.): *messen* (verb): *messen* ('Messe,' oblique cases and pl.): *gesessen*—(101).¹ The words with *e* are: *best* (superlative): *fest* (adverb): *fest* ('Festung'): *gest* ('Gäste'): *zw lest* ('zu letzt'): *nest:west* ('weist'; 'wüszt')—(4). There is one rhyme of *ë:e* before *s*—*fresser* (with *ë*): *messer* ('Messer, culter,' with *e*), 12.52—unless we are to assign an (analogical?) pronunciation with *e* to the former word. *messer* rhymes 4 times with *besser* (comparative, with *e*).

Before nasals: the rhymes with a single nasal following *ë* are *dem* (dat. sg.): *wem* (dat. sg.): *nem* ('nehme')—(2); with *e* they are *denen* ('dehnen'): *senen* ('Sehnen'): *zenen* ('Zähnen')—(2). *ë* and *e* rhyme in *den* (acc. sg., with *ë*): *zen* ('Zähne') 75.278; *dem* (dat. sg.): *hem* ('Hemd,' with *e*) 81.312; *nem* ('nehme'): *zem* ('zähme,' with *e*) 49.372; *nemen* ('nehmen'): *temen* ('dämmen,' with *e*) 16.80; *nemen*:

¹ Von Bahder, *op. cit.*, p. 134, gives *kresse* doubtfully with *e*; Lexer, *op. cit.*, s.v., agrees with Sachs's form, who rhymes it with *ë* words, e.g., at 31.26.

gremen ('grämen,' with *e*) 6.26, 25.120, 32.60, 42.24, 64.48; *nemen*: *zemen* ('zähmen') 67.362, 73.301. It is evident that the coincidence, common to most NHG. dialects, of *ē* and *e* before nasals has here taken place: in Sachs's Frankish speech probably in the direction of the closed sound, cf. Zwierzina, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

If the *e* before nasal plus consonant of such loan-words as *absent* ('Abwesenheit'), *argument*, *convent*, *firmament*, *regiment*, *testament*, *regenten*, *présents* is to be considered as *ē* (i.e., as having originally an open sound), these words give us further examples of *ē:e* before nasals, for they rhyme with the following German words: *blendt* ('blendet'), *end* ('Ende'), *hend* ('Hand, gen. and dat. sg., 'Hände,' pl.), *kent* ('kennt'; 'kannte'), *stend* ('Stände'), *stenden* ('Ständen'), *gens* ('Gänse'). There are 23 such rhymes. The Latin words rhyme with one another 4 times, the German 101 times. This ratio of "cross-rhymes" to "simple rhymes" shows that the former were fully as permissible as the latter.

Sachs has a few rhymes which from the MHG. standpoint would be impure, but are really regular owing to dialectic changes; the actual MHG. pronunciation, moreover, is often a mere matter of conjecture. These rhymes of Sachs's are due to the change of *ē* to *e* in a number of words; on this cf. von Bahder, *op. cit.*, pp. 133 ff. Thus in Hans Sachs's pronunciation *regel* ('Regel') had *e*, for it rhymes once with *flegel*, 12.292, and once with *schlegel* ('Schlägel') 41.108. The numeral *sechs* had *e*, rhyming only with *weeks* (gen. sg. of *week* 'Wecken, Brödchen') 40.343; similarly *sechst* (ordinal), which rhymes with *schwechst* (superlative of *schwach*) 12.284. *ledig* (adjective) had *e*, rhyming with *predig* ('Predigt') 53.306, 360, 64.200; and *erledigt* rhymes with *beschedigt*, 1.220.

In the rhymes *schnell* (adjective):*einfell* ('Einfälle,' with *e*) 17.196, and *schedel* ('Schädel'):*wedel*, ('Wedel,' with *e*) 4.452, the words *schnell* and *schedel* may also have *e* instead of older *ē*—*schnell* perhaps owing to the influence of the verb *schnellen* and *schedel* on the model of words like *flegel*, *wedel*. A less likely conjecture would be to assign open pronunciation (*ā*, cf. below) to the vowel of *einfell* and *wedel*.¹

¹ That Sachs spoke *e* in the doubtful words MHG. *gester(n)*, *swester*, *fels* appears from the rhymes *gestern*:*lestern* ('lāstern'), 53.300; *egester* ('vorgestern'):*betschwester* 74.366; *fels* ('Felsen'); *Els* ('Else') 4.100.

2. *The occurrence of ä.*—The later umlaut of *a*, *ä* rhymes with *ë* in Sachs's speech as in that of the Middle German poets of the MHG. period; cf. Zwierzina, *op. cit.*, pp. 295 ff.¹ All the words with *ä* in the following paragraphs rhyme with words containing *ë*.

In the following words with *ä* the earlier umlaut (which would, of course, have given *e*) was prevented by a consonant-combination: *entferben*² (: *sterben*) 56.306, 58.152; *herben* ('herben,' dat. pl. of adjective MHG. *härwe*; here: *sterben*) 43.246; *geprecht* ('Geprunke': *schlecht*) 6.268; *geschlecht* (: *knecht*) 20.162, 24.122, (: *recht*) 5.77, 15.36, 26.130, 142, 46.328, 52.170, 57.86, 71.208, 78.2.

In the following cases the *ä* is due to other causes, such as an *i* of the third syllable, a suffixal *i*, etc. (cf. von Bahder, *op. cit.*, and Paul, *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik*³, § 40, Anm. 2): *ern* ('Ernte': *wern* 'werden') 59.216; *kerner* ('Kärrner': *ferner*) 13.92; *pfer* ('Pferd': *er*, pronoun) 58.326; *pferd* ('Pferd': *erd* 'Erde') 58.308, 80.336, (: *fert* 'voriges Jahr') 13.268, 54.110, (: *begert* 'begehrt'; 'Begehren') 58.26, 348, 85.43, (: *schwert* 'Schwert') 43.162, 68.138, 83.32, (: *gewert* 'gewährt') 58.46, (: *werd* 'werde') 22.224, 25.182, 58.278 83.314, (: *wert*, adjective) 13.236, 22.254, 266, 24.240, 36.124, 57.344, 58.270, 322; *jeger* ('Jäger': *geleger* 'Lager') 13.146; *echtzen* ('ächzen': *lechtzen*) 35.244; *schwedern* ('schwätzen': *federn*, dat. pl.) 27.242; *effen* ('äffen': *treffen*) 36.156, 57.130, 58.16, 65.160, 69.74, 76.335, 83.228; *eff* ('äffe': *übertreff*) 50.333; *geefft* ('geäfft': *stefft* 'Spitze') 59.272.

The following words with *ä* are plurals of nouns with later umlaut: *kerren* (pl. of *karren*, here: *herren*) 15.24; *merckten* (dat. pl. of *marckt* 'Markt': *handwercken* 'Handwerkern')³ 5.10; *schelck* (pl. of *schalck*, here: *melck* 'melke') 14.368; *schelcken* (dat. pl. of *schalck*, here: *melcken*) 24.208, 25.274; *welder* (pl. of *wald*, here: *felder*) 24.98; *tegen* (dat. pl. of *tag*, here: *allwegen* 'immer') 12.246; *veter* (pl. of *vater*, here: *Peter*) 67.94, (: *vertreter*) 64.244; *heffen* (pl. of *haffen* 'Hafen, Topf': *treffen*) 15.256.

¹ On the occurrence of *ä* generally in the German dialects cf. von Bahder, *op. cit.*, pp. 134 ff.

² Sachs of course did not distinguish either in pronunciation or in writing between *a* and *ä*; his only distinction was in pronunciation between these vowels on the one hand and *e* on the other.

³ Or have *merckten*, *handwercken* both *e*, the latter on the model of other nouns of agent in OHG. -jo, such as *beck* 'Bäcker'?

Sachs has also a number of rhymes of *ä* with the (late) umlaut of long *ā*, *æ*. These were possible because *ē*, and with it *ā*, had under certain conditions been lengthened, becoming equal to *æ*. This circumstance will be treated below, but for the sake of assembling all the words with *ä*, the rhymes of *ä:æ* will be listed here. They are as follows:

ä before consonant-combinations: *geschlecht* (: *undurchecht*¹ 'ungeächtet') 68.308, (: *geschmecht* 'geschmäht') 24.94; *mechtig* ('mächtig': *andechtig*) 5.331; *eintrechtig* (: *andechtig*) 53.172.

ä before *i* suffixal or of third syllable: *teller* (: *feller* 'Fehler') 20.52; *jeger* ('Jäger': *weger* 'lieber,' comparative) 5.321; *gehessig* ('gehässig': *messig* 'mäszig') 3.376, 5.103, 411; *geschefft* (: *schlefft*, 'schläft') 39.447, 45.126, 46.38, 81.242.

Plural with *ä*: *veter* (: *speter* 'später') 16.78.

Judged by the above, the following rhymes appear to be of *ä*-words: *ferben* ('färben'): *gerben* 52.356; *mechtig*: *prechtig* 6.32, 8.97, 11.156, 30.184, 44.196, 52.184, 68.40, 124, 246, 78.188; *efft*: *geschefft* 23.273, 62.292; *geschefftig*: *hefftig* 4.215.

The rhyme *esch* (name of a fish): *genesch* ('Genäsch') 6.120, 23.52 is surely of *ä*-words, for the *e*-vowel of the former word is probably the sign of an analogical (and therefore later-umlaut) plural; cf. MHG. *asche*, wk. m.²

We come now to a number of rhymes which may include words with *ä*, though the exact vowel is not certain. Before a nasal, where *ē* and *e* may rhyme, the same must be true of *ä* and *æ*. Thus the word *schemen*, *schem*, *schemst* ('sich schämen') rhymes as follows: with *nemen* (*ē*) 4.280, 440, 466, 5.463, 8.171, 375, 10.30, etc., in all 25 times; with *nem* 14.204, 36.278; with *kemen* ('kämen,' pret. subv., with *æ*) 12.350; with *kemst* ('kämst,' pret. subv., with *æ*) 7.164; with *angenem* (*æ*) 8.8, 127; and with *gremen* (*ē*) 71.346.

¹ Sachs wrote *æ* as *e*, less commonly as *ä*, *eh*, *äh*, all of which signs, moreover, he also used for *ē* (*ä*). In this paper I adhere to the provisional conservative principle of writing *e* for all of Sachs's *e*-vowels. Cf. below.

² Or else *esch* may possibly show a purely phonetic development of MHG. *a* before *sch*; in this case the word is a loan-word from some dialect, e.g., the Alsatian, which had this change (cf. von Bahder, *op. cit.*, p. 136, and Paul, *op. cit.*, § 40, Anm. 10), for Sachs's speech did not have it. His rhymes of words where MHG. *a* stands before *sch* are of the type *waschen*: *taschen* 28.252, 262; this is typical. *weschen* (= *waschen*): *leschen* ('löschen') 28.176, 192; *wesch* ('Wäsche'): *resch* ('rasch') 60.94, 83.36 (cf. *lesch* 'lösche': *resch* 'rasch' 70.252) are rhymes of genuine *e*, not of *ä*.

We also find, however, such uses as *schamen:namen* 34.302, where the parallel form without umlaut makes *ä* seem the probable vowel of *schemen*. Hence an earlier stage of Sach's dialect may have had this, the commoner pronunciation of the word—*schämen* (cf. Zwierzina, *op. cit.*, p. 312, footnote). *molcken dremel:brodt hemel* 10.180, *misthemel* 20.28. If *dremel* in this epithet = MHG. *drēmel* 'Riegel, Balken,' we may assume *ä* in *hemel*, for the MHG., according to Lexer, has, like the NHG. *Hammel*, *a*. It is also possible that both words have *e*. A further doubtful case may be the rhymes of *schleg:schreg* and *schlegen:regen* ('Regen') treated in §1; unless *schleg*, *schlegen*, and *schreg* have *ä* the rhyme with *regen* (*ē*) is impure. Cf. also the rhymes of *schnell:einfell* and *schedel:wedel* in §1, in which the second word of each pair may perhaps contain *ä*, since *schedel* and *schnell* have MHG. *ē*; but the more likely explanation is that given in §1 (change of *ē* > *e* in *schnell* and *schedel*), for *wedel* rhymes with *edel* (adjective, *e*) 15.102; and *ungefell* ('Unfall'; 'Unfälle') with *gsell* 39.93, 289 and with *hell* ('Hölle') 3.120. A very likely case of *ä* is in the rhyme *teglich* ('täglich'): *unwertreglich* 4.340, 47.112, 56.138; both words have in MHG., according to Lexer, parallel forms without umlaut; note also the suffix *-lich*. *ertig* ('artig'): *widerwertig* 14.314; Lexer gives only the umlaut-form for the former word, only the *a*-form for the latter; considering the modern literary forms *artig* and *widerwärtig*, we have double forms for both, which, what with the suffix *-ig*, makes *ä* very likely.

There is no evidence beyond possibility for *ä* in the following: *schwermer* ('schwärmen,' Lexer: *swarmen*, *swermen*)¹: *wermen* ('wärmen,' MHG. only *wermen*, cf. also Zwierzina, *op. cit.*, p. 298) 51.100. *bawfellig:schelig* ('wild,' Lexer: *schëllec*) 65.186; as no other form from the stem of *fallen* seems to have *ä* it is probable that we have *e* < *ē* (cf. §1) in *schelig*—still *ä* is possible in the former or both words. *einfeltig:geweltig* 22.310, 53.156; *gesiebenfeltigt:uberweltigt* 67.226; both words have, according to Lexer, *a*-forms and umlaut-forms, which parallelism together with the suffix *-ig*, makes *ä* possible.²

¹ As Lexer renders both *ä* and *e* by the character *e*, this is merely an indication of the existence of some umlaut-form.

² As in §1, we may draw certain negative inferences. Thus *hex*, *hetz* ('Hexe') and *schwetzen* ('schwätzen'), *geschwetz*, have *e*, not *ä*. Their rhymes are: *hex:complex* (=MHG. *complexie*) 10.90; *hetz:gschwetz* 83.110, *hetzen* (pl.): *schwetzen* 39.351;

3. *æ* and *ê*.—Sachs distinguishes as clearly between the old long *ê* and the later umlaut-sound *æ* as he does between the closed and open short *e*-sounds.

Thus he rhymes on the one hand, with *æ*, *geber* ('Gebahren'): *gefer* ('Gefahr'): *erkler* ('erkläre'): *ler* ('leer'): *mer* ('Mär'): *schwer* (adjective): *schwer* ('Kummer'): *wer* ('wäre'): *bewer* ('bewähre'): *bewer* ('Zeugnis'): *wunderber* ('wunderbar')—(22), and with sporadic retention of the old accent; *burger* ('Bürger'): *schwer* ('Kummer') 2.72, *heuchler* (: *bewer*, verb) 31.116, *werecherer* (: *gefer*) 78.204, 264. With *ê*, on the other hand, we find *er* ('ehre'): *er* ('Ehre'): *ker* ('kehre, wende'): *ler* ('lehre; lerne'): *ler* ('Lehre'): *mer* ('mehre, vermehre'): *mer* ('mehr'): *ser* ('sehr')—(96). In view of these numbers the two rhymes of *-ær*: *-êr* must be considered impure: *gefer* (*æ*): *ler* ('Lehre,' with *ê*) 1.194; and *answer* (verb, 'schaffe mir mühevoll an'—?): *ker* ('kehre, wende,' with *ê*) 13.64.

We also find *geferlich*: *schwerlich*—(2), *geferlicher*: *schwerlicher*—(1); and, with *ê*, *erlich*: *herlich*—(4), *erlicher*: *herlicher*—(1).

Further, *beschwert*: *gelert* ('ausgeleert'): *bewert* ('bewährt')—(2), with *æ*; and, with *ê*, *verkert*: *mert* ('vermehrt'): *verrert* ('lässt fallen')—(2), also *erst* ('ehrst,' 2. sg.): *kerst* ('kehrst, wendest')—(1).

With *æ*, *aufgeblet* ('aufgebläht'): *ret* (pl. of *rat* 'Rat'): *spet* ('spät'): *stet* ('stets')—(2); with *ê*, *fazilet* ('Tüchlein'): *get* ('geht'): *stet* ('steht')²—(14), also *gest*: *stest*—(3).

4. *ë*:*æ*.—Like some earlier poets of Frankish-Middle-German speech (cf. Zwierzina, *op. cit.*, p. 285), Sachs rhymes under certain conditions *ë* (and *ä*) with *æ* (as also *e* with *ê*, cf. below). The rhymes of *ä*:*æ* have been treated of in §2. These rhymes of MHG. short vowel with MHG. long vowel are due, of course, to the shifting of the old vowel-quantities—usually to lengthening of the old short sounds.

Thus Sachs freely rhymes with words in *-ær* the following in *-êr* (in which, accordingly, the *ë* before final *-r* has been lengthened):

geschwetz: *metz* 22.138, *schetz* ('Schätze') 9.116, 22.156; *geschwetzig*: *aufsetzig* 71.124, 74.293; *schwetzen*: *metzen* (pl.), 10.164. With these rhymes cf. the following with *e*: *ergetz*: *kretz* ('Ausschlag'): *zw letz* ('zu letzt'): *letz* ('ruhe aus'): *metz*: *schetz* ('Schätze'): *setz*: *aufsetz*: *gsetz*—(10), and *felzen* ('weggehen'): *ergetzen*: *hetzen* (verb): *letzen* ('ausruhen: vrluetzen'): *netzen*: *schetzen* ('Steuern auferlegen'): *setzen*: *aufsetzen* (dat. pl.): *wetzen*—(22).

¹ The lines are:

"Vil renck vnd müe ich den anker,
Pis ich ein andres pfert anscher."

² The *a*-forms of these verbs also occur.

ber ('Blüte, Frucht') 79.238, *der* (nom. sg. of pronoun) 12.354, 22.212, 35.128, etc., *er* (nom. sg. of pronoun) 4.384, 39.493, 42.204, 43.74, 50.227, etc., *beger* ('begehre') 31.364, *beger* ('Begehren') 4.110, 11.357, 14.10, etc., *her* (adverb) 1.6, 3.42, 8.2, 34, 147, 427, 12.120, 224, 14.190, etc., *wer* ('werde') 21.48, 31.286, 42.244, *wer* (nom. sg. of pronoun) 11.170—in all 118 times. The words in *-ær* are *geber* ('Gebahren'), *gefer* ('Gefahr'); *erkler* ('erkläre'), *ler* ('leer'), *mer* ('Mär'), *schwer* (adjective), *schwer* ('Kummer'), *wer* ('wäre').

The words in *-ërr* (cf. § 1), on the other hand, do not rhyme with those in *-ær*. There is, to be sure, an apparent case, at 58.68:

. . . . *mein lieber herr?*

Der pfaff spricht:

Ey, was sol das vnüez geschmerr!

but, though the last word is MHG. *gesnære* 'Geschwätz,' no rhymes of it with words in *-ær* or *-ër* occur. Its rhyming with *hërr* is best explained by assuming for it analogical *-rr* (on the model of MHG. *snarren* and related words) and attendant shortening of the vowel. There are, accordingly, no rhymes of *ërr:ær*. Similarly, there are none of *-ërr:-ër*—for the possibility cf. the words in § 1. The vowel of *-ërr*, then, has remained short, not sharing the fortunes of the vowel in *-ër*.

Further we find, with lengthened vowel, *begern* 9.22, 14.38, 31.360, etc., *gern* (adverb) 11.4, 98, 36.96, etc., *stern* 26.176, *wern* ('werden') 26.328—rhyming 15 times with the following words in *-ærn*: *mistbern* (dat. sg. of *mistber* 'Mistbahre' 60.270), *gebern* ('Gebärden'), *erfern* ('überlisten'), *erklern* ('erklären'), *bewern* ('bewähren'), *wern* ('wären'). We find also *herren* (with *ë*):*wern* ('wären,' with *æ*) 52.350. If this rhyme is pure, *-ërren* has like *-ërn* lengthened its vowel. This, however, becomes improbable when we consider the rhymes of *-ërren:-ërn*. For, while words in *-ërren* rhyme together 14 times and words in *-ërn* 69 times (cf. § 1), there are only 7 rhymes of *-ërren:ërn*—*ferrn* ('fern'): *begern* introduction to 44, line 48; *ferrn:gern* (adverb) 69.16; *ferrn:wern* ('werden') 75.113 (note that *ferrn* really occupies a doubtful position, its going with words in *-ërren* being due only to the influence of *ferr* and the "radical," not inflectional, character of its *-n*; it was probably pronounced both ways); *herren:gern* (adverb) 27.18; *herren:tafern* ('Wirtshaus') 24.2;

herren:wern ('werden') 12.80, 27.146 (note that *gern* and *tafern* have "radical" -n and that *wern* is for *werden*; these doubtful forms account for the large number of these impure rhymes).¹

The rhymes of lengthened -*ërt* with *ært* are as follows: *erd* ('Erde') 1.104, 3.434, 30.90, etc., *begert* 1.72, 14.142, 30.196, etc., *begerd* ('Begehren') 84.317, *schwert* ('Schwert') 47.160, 67.322, 81.326, *werdt* ('werdet') 85.18, *wert* (adjective) 14.298, 19.322, 25.134, 32.290, 73.225. These words rhyme 27 times with *geberd* ('Gebahren'), *gefert* ('getäuscht'), *geferd* ('Gefahr'), *erklert*, *lert* ('leert aus'), *beschwert*, *beschwerd* ('Beschwerde'), *bewert* ('bewährt'), *wert* ('wäret' 2. pl.). The absence of rhyme-words in -*ërrt* forbids comparison of -*ërt* with -*ërrt*.

The form *erden* (dat. sg. of *erd* 'Erde') rhymes with *geberden* (*æ*) 47.22, *beschuern* ('bekümmern,' *æ*) 7.390, *beschwerden* 14.26; and the form *werden* ('werden,' *ë*) rhymes with *æ*-words, to wit, *geberden* 1.240, 18.12, 43.178, *geferden* ('Gefahren') 43.298, 64.140, *beschwerden* 3.174, 27.18.

gerst ('begehrst,' *ë*) rhymes with *æ* words: *geferst* ('überlistest') 85.395, *beschwerst* 44.140, *werst* ('wärest') 3.326.

Before *l* Sachs rhymes *schel* ('krumm,' *ë*):*fel* ('Fehler, Schuld,' *æ*) 60.26.

verheln ('verhehlen, verbergen,' *ë*) rhymes at 80.8 with *feln* ('fehlen,' *æ*); *steln* ('stehlen,' *ë*) at 7.206, 25.82, 27.12 with *feln*, at 19.190 with *streln* ('strählen,' *æ*). Rhymes in -*ëll*, -*ëllen* are too scarce to permit of conclusions; their rhyme-words do not occur in rhyme with -*ël*, -*ëln*, or -*æl*, -*æln*.

geld ('Geld') 5.245, 12.254, 22.250, etc., *gemeldt* ('gemeldet') introduction to 44, line 282, rhyme 12 times with *felt*, *strellt*. Note that in both *geld* and *gemeldt* the *ë* stands before double consonant of the stem, yet is lengthened. The lengthening is certain, for though words in -*ëllt* rhyme with one another 40 times (cf. § 1), the scarcity of rhyme-words in -*ællt*, which indeed occur only as in this paragraph, accounts sufficiently for the small number of rhymes of -*ëllt*:*ællt*.

steg ('Steg,' *ë*) 25.60, and *weg* ('Wege,' *ë*) 11.262 rhyme with *treg* ('träge,' *æ*). No other rhymes of the words in -*ëg* occur; those in

¹ If the rhyme -*ërren*:-*ërn* were permissible, i.e., pure, we should expect some 40 cases of it.

-æg rhyme with each other 3 times (*leg* 'läge':*leg* 'niedrig':*treg*:*verweg* 'verzichtete').

pflieger ('Pfleger,' *ë*):*weger* ('lieber,' comparative) 20.258, 21.80, the only rhyme of words in -ger.

gecken (pl. of *geck*, *ë*, 'Geck'—?):*stecken* (pret. subv., with *æ*, of *stecken*, intransitive, strong verb—?) 20.282.¹

The following words in -*ëch*:*brech* 75.57, *frech* 64.362, 68.250, *geschech* ('geschehe') 18.319, 35.96, *rech* ('räche') 69.314, *sech* ('sehe') 63.274, rhyme with the *æ*-words *gech* ('jäh, schnell'), *nech* ('Nähe'), *sech* (pret. subv. 'sähe'), *gesprech* ('Gespräch'). -*ëch*-words rhyme with one another 6 times, -*æch*-words 9 times; the proportion of -*ëch*:*æch*-rhymes shows them to be pure. They are probably also due to lengthening of *ë*.

In the rhymes of -*ëcht*:*æcht*, however, which follow, it is the *æ* which has been changed, no doubt, by shortening. The *ë*-words *knecht* 2.96, 4.322, 6.256, etc., *recht* 5.133, 16.308, 19.204, etc., *schlecht* 42.136, 54.6, rhyme 20 times and in one triple rhyme (*knecht*:*schlecht*:*schmecht*, 'schmäht,' *æ*, 85.347) with the *æ*-words *brecht* ('brächte'), *decht* ('dächte'), *vergecht* ('übereilt'), *schmecht*. Note also the 2 rhymes of -*ächt*:*æcht* in § 2. The -*ëcht* words rhyme with one another 84 times (cf. § 1), with -*ächt*-words 12 times (cf. § 2); there are no rhymes of -*æcht* with itself.

anfechtung (*ë*):*durchechtung* (*æ*) 44.250, 71.110.

The rhymes of -*ëhen*:*æhen* (<MHG. -*æhen*, -*æjen*) are especially common. Sachs writes -*ehen* and -*een* and never rhymes the words with monosyllables:*jehen* ('aussagen') 5.355, 6.68, 7.108, 60.118, 83.136, *geschehen* 4.392, 8.419, 9.82, 21.178, etc., *sehen* 4.221, 5.343, 6.60, 11.246, etc. These *ë*-words rhyme 51 times and in one triple rhyme (*sehen*:*geschehen*:*nehen*, oblique case of *nech* 'Nähe,' 85.21) with the following *æ*-words: *blehen* ('blähen'), *drehen*, *krehen* ('krähen'), *mehen* ('mähen'), *nehen* ('nähen'), *nehen* ('nahen'), *nehen* (oblique cases of *nech* 'Nähe'), *schmehen* ('schmähen'). The *ë*-words rhyme with one another 110 times, the *æ*-words 4 times.

gebet ('Gebet') 45.147, 61.48, 226, etc., *bret* ('Brett') 67.200, *tret* ('trete') rhyme 7 times with the *æ*-words, *spet* ('spät'), *stet* ('stets'), *wet* ('weht'); here *ë* has no doubt been lengthened, as also in the following cases.

The lines are obscure.

weter ('Wetter'): *speter* (inflected form of *spet*) 58.84.

beten ('beten') 69.88, 52.270 and *treten* 18.293 rhyme with *reten* (dat. pl. of *rat* 'Rat') and *besteten* ('bestätigen').

federn ('Federn'): *edern* ('aderlassen,' with *æ*) 19.150.

Before nasals we have—*dem:kem* ('käme,' *æ*) 28.46, 37.10, 84.409, 85.462—*warnemer* ('Wahrnehmer,' *ë*): *kremer* ('Krämer,' *æ*) 13.90; *nemen:kemen* (pret. subv. 'kämen,' *æ*) 32.98. As *e* is equal to *ë* before nasals we may add here *pfenig* ('Pfennig,' *e*): *argwenig* (printed with *ð* but = MHG. *arcwænec*) 54.246.

Above (§ 3) we have seen words with the formerly accented final syllable *-ær* rhyme with regularly accented *-ær*. They rhyme also with the more common words in *-ër* (*der*, *er*, *beger* 'Begehren,' *her*, *schmer* 'Fett, Öl'), as follows: *burger* ('Bürger') 27.266, *hawskumeter* ('Verwalter') 12.6, 18, *pfarrer* 37.24, *schuster* 52.304, *trometer* ('Dromedar'?) 85.59, *wanderer* 13.30, 122, 144, 276, *wucherer* 84.95.

Similarly, before a nasal, *dem* rhymes with *angenem* ('angenehm,' *æ*) 26.248, 356, 57.88, 84.170.

On the model of these words other unaccented syllables may come under the verse-accent and rhyme as if they had *æ*. The cases are *her:aber* 43.108; *beschwer* ('Beschwerde' *æ*): *Jupiter* 78.26; *her:taler* 51.312, *wer* (nom. sg. of pronoun): *wider* (adverb) 67.320; *res* ('böse,' *æ*): *Diogenes* 44.290; *dem:Jerusalem* 26.106; *dem:Solonem* 71.246. For examples of such rhymes in older poets, cf. Zwierzina, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

As *ë* and *e* are equal before nasals, the rhyme *kent* ('gekannt,' *e*): *eilend* (participle) also belongs here.

5. *e:ê*.—Probably all the rhymes of *e:ê* given in the following paragraphs are due to lengthening of *e*. It is not necessary to call attention to the many cases where parallel rhyme-words of *ë:æ* and of *e:ê* are kept apart; what exceptions there are will be mentioned.

ber ('schlage, haue') 69.354, 76.175, *her* ('Heer') 2.4, 44.18, 67.4, *mer* ('Meer') 3.272, 5.163, 7.298, 35.158, *ner* ('nähre') 15.112, 21.182, 52.386, 60.312, 80.72, 82.80, *schwer* ('schwöre') introduction to 44, line 262, 44.284, 47.294, 67.180, *wer* ('Wehr') 27.72, 37.46, 75.306, *zer* ('zehre') 22.184, 61.152, rhyme with the *ê*-words *er* ('Ehre'), *ler* ('Lehre'), *mer* ('mehr'), *ser* ('sehr'), in all 24 rhymes.

her (adverb, with *ê*) makes impure rhymes with *er* ('Ehre') 1.290, and with *mer* ('mehr') 69.330.

beschwerung ('Beschwörung,' *e*) 34.200, 51.308, and *zerung* ('Kost, Nahrung,' *e*) 13.38, 39.65, 57.94 rhyme with *vererung* ('Verehrung').

-ern:êrn rhyme as follows: *bern* ('schlagen') 8.84, 22.172, 34.114, etc., *kern* ('kehren, fegen') 4.260, *nern* ('nähren') 3.332, 9.254, 15.118, etc., *schwern* ('schwören') 12.98, 23.132, 25.310, etc., *wern* ('wehren') 4.140, 19.126, 20.192, etc., *zern* ('zehren') 3.172, 4.4, 12, 6.8, etc., rhyme 65 times with *ern* ('Ehren'), *kern*, 'kehren, wenden,' *ê*), *lern* ('lehren; lernen'),¹ *mern* ('mehren, vermehren').

Of impure rhymes we have *wern* ('werden'): *ern* 10.110, 15.210.

-ert:-êrt rhymes in *bert* ('geschlagen,' participle) 59.334,² *fert* (3. sg. of *farn* 'fahren') 39.245, 72.390, 77.52, *nert* 1.180, 3.264, 49.178, 85.192, *beschert* ('beschert, geschenkt') 13.338, 24.86, *gewert* ('verwehrt, verboten') 6.78, 85.230, *zert* 5.85, 8.40, 58.22—altogether 15 times with *kert* ('kehrt, wendet'), *lert* ('lehrt'), *mert* ('vermehrt'). Also *ferst* (2. sg. 'fährt'): *erst* ('ehrst') 6.146, 34.292.

Impure is *pfert* (ä): *gelert* 58.54; as the latter word here means 'gelernt,' the association of *lernen* may be in play.

The rhyme *hert* ('hart,' *e*): *lert* (*ê*) is probably impure as to quantity, for the former word rhymes 6 times with *kerrt* ('quält,' *e*) and *sperrt* (*e*) and only once (impurely, therefore) with *fert* ('fährt') 12.150. Cf. Michels, *Mittelhochdeutsches Elementarbuch*, § 138, 2, b.

The truth of the above paragraph depends of course on the *e* of *kerrt*, *sperrt* having itself remained short. These words rhyme with each other in the forms *kerren:sperrn*—(10), and *kerrst:sperrst*—(1). With *-er*-words they rhyme only in *bern:kerren* 46.284; whence it is fair to conclude that their *e* remained short, the last-cited rhyme being impure as to quantity.

Hence also the rhyme *kerrt:gelert* (*ê*) is probably impure quantitatively.

¹ *lern* 'lernen' does not rhyme in the *Fastnachtspiele*. It may account for the rhyme *begern* (*ê*): *lern*, which occurs at line 60 of Sachs's tragedy, *Der hüernern Sewfrid* (ed. E. Goetze, in the *Neudrucke*).

² Or is the other rhyme-word here *kert* (from *kern*, 'kehren, fegen,' with *e*) and not *kert* (from *kern* 'kehren, wenden,' with *ê*)?

"Ich main, die pawern habn abkert,
Einander leichnam uebel pert."

Before *l* we find the rhyme *quel* ('Qual'): *sel* ('Seele,' *ê*) 42.270, 46.160, 70.262. As no rhymes of *-el*-words with one another—or of *-ël*-words—occur, it is fair to conclude from the 3 rhymes of *-el*:*-ël* that *e* has here been lengthened.

Before *ll* we have *gsell* ('Gesell') 17.102, *hell* ('Hölle') 42.290, 402, 49.28, etc., rhyming 10 times with *sel* ('Seele'). As the various *-ell*-words (cf. §1) rhyme with one another 14 times and with the rare *-el*-words twice (*quel*:*hell*; *wel* 'wähle':*stell* 'stelle'), we may infer that *e* before *-ll* was lengthened.¹

In the rhymes *gefellig*:*selig* 3.118, 26.334 and *hellig* ('müde'): *selig* 24.184 we find the popular etymology which connects the latter word with MHG. *sêle*.

Impure rhymes are probably *quel* ('Qual,' *e*):*hartsel* ('Mühsal,' MHG. *-salde*) 68.338; and *pfeller* (MHG. *pfellel*):*feler* ('Fehler,' *œ*) 50.283. There are, however, beside MHG. *quel*, the forms *quël*, *quæl*; and the foreign word *pfeller*, in spite of its derivation with umlaut, from Lat. *palliolum*, may have been pronounced with *ë* on the model of words with a Latin *e*.

A rhyme of *ë*:*ê* is *schmecken* (verb):*appodeken* 15.206, if we may attribute the value *ê* to the Late Latin long *e* of the latter word.

Before *-t* and *-d* we find *bet* ('Bett') 9.138, 46.10, 47.242, etc., *redt* ('redet') 26.60, 43.36, 45.38, etc., *stet* ('Stätte') 16.262, *verzett* ('fallen lassen') 40.325 (these words and *gewett* 'gewettet' rhyme with one another 6 times) rhyming 16 times with *claret* (Late Latin *clārētum*), *get* ('geht'), *stet* ('steht'), a type of rhyme-word making 14 rhymes (cf. §3). Note also *freten* ('plagen'): *planeten* ('Planeten,' probably *ê*) 10.88, and cf. §1 for the type of *freten*.

Kept apart from these are the rhymes of *red* ('Rede'; 'rede') 8.379, 12.40, 19.120, 35.70, etc. with *bed* ('beide')—(12), and with *schlaperghred* ('Schlappergrete,' *ê*) 39.373. Also *reden* ('Reden'; 'reden') 4.28, 12.122, 14.54, 16.16, etc., with *beden* ('beiden')—(30) and with *schwaderghreden* ('Schwatzgreten') 18.267.

¹ This conclusion is confirmed by the following rhymes of *-eln*:*ellen*:*weln* ('wählen'): *gsellen*—(2), *zeln* ('zählen'):*ellen* (pl.)—(2), *zeln*:*stellen* (verb)—(1) (as opposed to 2 rhymes of *-eln*-words with one another, and 18 of *-ellen*-words with one another); and further by the following rhymes of *-elt*: *-ellt*:*welt* ('wählt'), *zelt* ('zählt') rhyme 14 times with *fellt* (3. sg. of *fallen*), *helt* (3. sg. of *halten*), *held* ('Held'), *gesellt* ('zugesellt'), *stellt*; as opposed to 2 rhymes of the *-elt*-words with each other and 4 of the *-ellt*-words.

Before nasals *e:ê* occurs as follows: *den* ('denn; dann') 23.72, 75.55, *wen* ('wenn; wann') 63.214, 65.70, *zen* ('Zähne') 11.140, 36.196, 37.274, etc., rhyme 10 times with *gen* ('gehen'), *sten* ('stehen'), *zwen* ('zwei').

pfenig 13.116, 60.172, 79.210, etc., and *menig, meng* ('Menge'—Sachs uses both these spellings) 20.158, 30.52, 67.54, 72.40 rhyme altogether 9 times with *wenig, weng* ('wenig'—Sachs writes *weng* wherever he writes *meng*). Further he rhymes *lenger* ('länger,' comparative): *wenger* ('weniger') 63.72, 74.232; and *lengern* (dat. pl.): *wengern* ('wenigern,' dat. pl.) 20.12.

blend ('blende'): *verstent* ('verstehen,' 3. pl.) 63.138; and *end* ('Ende'): *gent* ('gehen,' 3. pl.) 63.314 also belong here.

Moreover, as *ë* and *ē* are equal before nasals, the following are regular: *den* (acc. sg. masc. and dat. pl. of pronoun) 23.60, 31.134, 35.94, etc.—12 times—with *gen, sten, zwen*; also in a triple rhyme *den:gen:sten* at 84.426 and 85.138.

6. *het, tet*.—To the above rhymes of *e:ê* a number of cases are added by the fact that Sachs rhymes the preterites of MHG. *hân* and *tuon* with these vowels.

het (1. and 3. sg., pret. ind. and subv.) rhymes with the following *e*-words: *bet* ('Bett') 35.98, 50.46, 52.372, etc. (6), *redt* ('redet') 40.249, 75.339, 85.296, *stet* ('Stätte') 71.204, 73.87, 81.216, *wett* ('wettet') 54.202, 85.200. With *ê*-words: *get* 21.208, 36.190, 81.232, *stet* 38.232.

The form *hêt* (Konrad von Würzburg, cf. Zwierzina, *ZfdA.*, XLIV, 108) might be in the rhyme *gebet* ('Gebet'): *het* 61.276; but more likely this is an impure rhyme.

In 22.44 we read:

*Damit hat man [= 'man ihn'] zum grab bestet.
Kein ander kleidung er sunst het.*

Unless *bestet* is an umlaut-form of MHG. *bestatet*, we must read *bestatt:hat*; we have not Sachs's MS for this passage.

The rhymes of *tet* (1. and 3. sg., 2. pl., pret. ind. and subv.) are: *bet* ('Bett') 46.4, 50.271, 291, etc. (7), *redt* 1.124, 18.135, 26.160, etc. (7), *stet* ('Stätte') 1.370, 17.86, 76.14, *stet* ('Städte,' pl.) 3.254, 14.272, 30.74. With *ê*-words: *get* 9.12, 58.104, 69.32, *stet* 39.233, 66.198.

Cf. further *teten* (3. pl. ind.): *Lissabeten* 1.176. (*Lissabeta*: *Leonetta* 43.62, 278).

Finally *het:tet* rhyme 3.40, 12.78, 14.220, etc.—18 times; *hetst:tetst* 49.166, 63.48; *heten:teten* 51.162, 182.

There is no apparent difference in form between ind. and subv. of these words.

7. *Rhymes of e-vowels with other vowels*.—There are several rhymes of *e* and *ê* with *i*, which is in these cases spelled both by Sachs and by his printers as *e*; all these rhymes are of words in *-nt*: *brent* ('brennt'): *sind* 67.262; *end* ('Ende'): *sind* 51.94, *geschendt* ('geschändet'): *sind* 4.203, *zertrent* ('zertrennt'): *sind* 1.244; and, with *ê*, *vergent* (3. pl.): *sind* 85.445. Also, *bendig* ('zahm, ruhig'—printed *bentig*): *grindig* (printed *grentig*) 39.339.

There are some few rhymes of *e*-vowels with *ö* and *æ*; but they are very few, though Sachs uses rhymes of *ö*, *æ*, and *ö:æ* copiously. *e:ö* occurs in *gsell:söl* (1. and 3. sg. ind. and subv., 'soll'; 'solle'—printed *sel, söl*) 17.24, 39.57, 84.444. *stellen* (verb): *söln* 52.64; *stellen* (verb): *dem Steffel Lölln* 59.346. *decken* (verb): *röcken* (dat. pl.) 52.312. *bechlein* ('Bächlein'—with *ä*?): *löchlein* (printed *Lechlein*). *gezesch* ('Gezische,' with *e* analogically, for MHG. *zesse*—printed *gezösch*) 11.106.

ê:æ occurs in *glert* ('gelehrt'): *gehört* 8.54; and in *het* (printed *hôt*): *genôt* ('genötigt') 1.44.

Before a nasal we have *æ:ö* in *untertenig:hönig* ('Honig,' printed *henig*) 14.154. The *ö* here has no doubt been lengthened.

The rhymes of *wel, weln, welt* with *e* in § 1 probably include both ind. and subv., cf., e.g., 4.14, 62, 94, 194, 6.156, 9.16, 11.12. We find also a number of rhymes in which this verb (written usually with *ô*) rhymes with *söl, sölle, sölt, sölst*, both verbs occurring probably both ind. and subv., e.g., 7.502, 16.194, 18.62, 82, 21.112, 24.68, 284, etc.—22 times in all. Cf. also *wöll:Steffel Löll* 59.218.¹ It is possible that the rhymes of these two auxiliaries represent the (modern literary) forms *wolle* (subv.): *soll, solle*; a parallel to the peculiar orthography would be the persistent writing of *kôm:nôm nom* for the common rhyme-words 'kâme': 'nähme,' MHG. *kæme:næme*, e.g., 19.22, 40.207, but 14.30, 18.227, 32.94, 37.54.

¹ An indicative *will* sometimes also occurs (e.g., 21.184). Similarly there are rhymes of *sol:wol* ('wohl').

On the whole it is safe to call the rhymes of *e*-vowels with *ö* and *æ* impure.

MHG. *e:üe* we have in *gremest:rhûmest* 5.275, an impure rhyme, no doubt, though before nasal.

MHG. *æ:i* before nasal—perhaps a pure rhyme for Sachs's speech—occurs in *gemmern* ('jammern,' MHG. *jâmern* with shortening of vowel and umlaut): *wimmern* 7.136; *gemerst:wimmerst* (printed *wemmerst*) 53.122. Cf. the rhymes of *e:i* above; *gemern* further occurs in *gemerst:verlemerbst* (MHG. *verlemen* 'lahm machen') 5.273.

MHG. *ê:iu* and *ê:öu* seem to occur once each; MHG. *iu* and *öu* no doubt with the modern value, NHG. *eu*:

(Du hast auch vert ein Panckart tragen)
Der bauch der wechst dir wider her.—
Wie, wolst mir reden an mein ehr? (10.170.)

Cf. MHG. *hiur* 'heuer';

So gestw her und bist peschlept,
Geschmuetzt, geflicket und pestrept (15.192).

Cf. MHG. (MLG.) *slēpen* 'schleifen,' or NHG. *schleppen*, and MHG. *bestrouben* 'struppig machen,' NHG. *sträuben*.¹

Thus it appears that Sachs's language distinguished four *e*-vowels: one short closed vowel, MHG. *e* (rarely *ĕ*); one long closed vowel, MHG. *ê* and lengthened MHG. *e*; one short open vowel, MHG. *ĕ*, *ä*; and one long open vowel, MHG. *æ* and lengthened *ē* and *ā*. A critical text of Sachs should reproduce either Sachs's own habits of writing (so far as possible) or Sachs's pronunciation, for which four characters (or the equivalent of four characters) would be necessary. In any case the purposeless orthography of our MHG. editions, which indicates neither a writer's pronunciation nor the orthographic habits of his scribes, should be kept out of our Early New High German texts.

[NOTE.—In addition to the *Fastnachtspiele* I have gone through the other works of Sachs accessible to me and found them to agree, barring one exception, with the above results. The works examined, besides the *Fastnachtspiele* are: *Sämtliche Fabeln und Schwänke von Hans Sachs*, ed. Edmund Goetze in the *Neudrucke*, Nos. 110–117, 126–134; *Der hürnen Seufrid*, ed. E. Goetze,

¹ A rhyme which I cannot judge is

" ehrlich
Bey gsellen leben frölich und zehrlich" (5.155).

Neudrucke, No. 29; and the selections in *Hans Sachs' Werke*, ed. Dr. Arnold, Kürschner's *Deutsche National-Litteratur*, Vols. XX and XXI; and in *Dichtungen des Hans Sachs*, edd. Karl Goedeke und Julius Tittmann, *Deutsche Dichter des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Vols. IV, V, and VI. The exception is the poem known as *Die wittenbergische Nachtigall* (Kürschner, XX, 111 ff.). This poem contains in all 350 couplets, including 16 rhymes of *e* (counting such words as *regiment*), 18 of *ē*, one of *ē:ā* (*recht:mecht* 'möchte' 502; this may however be a rhyme of *ē:ō*, cf. paragraph 4, below), 4 of *ê*, none of *æ*, 3 of *ē:ê*, and 6 of *ē:æ*. It differs from Sachs's other verse in the following respects:

1. It contains 7 rhymes of *ē:ē* before *r* and *l*, as follows: *bleren* ('lärmen,' *e*, also occurring with *ê*):*kopfbescheren* (*ē*) 122; *merck* ('merke,' *e*):*werck* (*ē*) 434; *mercke:wercke* 520; *mercken:wercken* 160; *genert* ('genährt' *e*):*herdt* ('Herde,' *ē*) 64; *bestelt* ('bestellt,' *e*):*gelt* ('Geld,' *ē*) 206; *erzelt* ('erzählt,' *e*):*melt* ('meldet,' *ē*) 686. As the rhymes of *e*-words with one another before *r* are none, before *l* one (*abstellt:helt* 560), of *ē*-words before *r* 4 (*erden:werden* 120, 666; *hertzen:schmertzen* 676; *sterben:verderben*, intrans. 384), before *l* 4 (*officieln:pedeln* 262; *gelt:welt* 448; *melt:welt* 380; *gelffen:gehelffen* 558), it appears that before these consonants *e* and *ē* rhyme together freely, as in the Alemannic dialect (cf. above § 1).

Further, we find 2 rhymes of *ê:æ* before *r*:*lehren* (infinitive, *ê*):*erkleren* ('erklären,' *æ*) 342; *schriftgelerten:erklärten* 294; one of *ē:æ* before *r*: *blerren:beweren* ('beweisen,' *æ*) 544; and 4 of *ē:ê* before *r*: *ferr* ('weit,' *ē*):*ler* ('Lehre,' *ê*) 110; *her* (adverb, *ē*):*ler* 106; *Herr:mehr* 684; *gewert* ('gedauert,' *ē*):*gelert* 576. These rhymes also seem to have been used freely, as their ratio to the following will show: *ê*-words rhyme with one another before *r* twice (*keren:leren* 592; *verkert:gelert* 548), *ē:ê* before *l* 3 times (*hell:sel* 182; *erzelen:seelen* 668; *gefellig:selig* 416), *ē:æ* before *r* twice (*her:ler*, 'leer,' *æ* 528; *begert:erklert* 326), before *l* twice (*hel*, 'hell,' *ē:fel*, 'fehl,' *æ* 58; *schnell:fell* 'fehl' 462).

2. Three rhymes of *ē:ê* before *t* occur: *bet* ('Gebet,' *ē*):*complet* ('completa hora,' *ê*<Late Latin *ê*) 124; *gebet:verstet* ('verstet') 302; *tretten* ('treten,' *ē*):*propheten* 290. With these compare the only other *e*-rhyme before *t*, *tretten:reten* ('Räten,' *æ*) 188.

3. Unaccented *e* taking accent under the verse-stress and assuming (old or analogical) value of *æ* (cf. §§ 3 and 4 above) is used freely and awkwardly; its occurrences are: *Augustiner:Luther* 102; *Barfusser:leszmeister* 492; *Emser:tröster* 488; *stationirer:Valentiner* 236; *quatemer:ayer* ('eier') 170; *gern:kleydern* 296; *hell:capitel* 658; rhyming with *ē* before nasal *denn:schulen* 630; with *i* before nasal *sen* ('sind' —?):*sibenden*. Note also the rhyme with *ê* before *r* (cf. paragraph 1 above): *ler* ('Lehre,' *ê*):*seelsorger* 198.

4. The following 3 rhymes of *ê:æ* occur: *göt* ('geht,' *ê*):*morgenröt* 8; *propheten:morgenröten* 344; *entgen* ('entgehen'):*gedön* ('gesang') 72, and the

following of *ē:ō*: *flecken:blecken* ('in den Block legen,' *ō*) 280; to which we may perhaps have to add *recht:mecht* ('möchte,' *ō* or *ä*) 502 (cf. above). Of *æ* and of *ö* there is only one rhyme each (646, 260). This rhyming of rounded with unrounded vowels is regular in Alemannic.¹

5. Other irregular rhymes are *ē:ie* in *brennen:denen* ('dienen,' *ie*) 134 (cf. *verhienen*, 'verhöhnén,' *æ:dienen* 556); and *ê:ei* in *selig* (as Sachs seems to have spoken this word with *ê*, cf. § 5 above): *heilig* 640.

I must leave it to students of literary history to explain this unique deviation on the part of Sachs from his usual rhyme-technique. Did he copy someone else's rhymes for this poem ?]

LEONARD BLOOMFIELD

CINCINNATI, OHIO
December 30, 1909

¹ Cf. further in this poem the numerous rhymes of *i*, *ie:ü*, *üe*, also once, *ei:iu*—a kind of rhyme very rare with Sachs but freely used by Alemannic rhymers, who spoke "*Sieddeitsch*."